

had a window during which to conduct the raid of Saturday through Monday. Why could they not have waited for negotiations to play out.

What credible information existed to suggest this level of force needed to be used?

Another question that deserves fuller explanation speaks to the impact of the raid on the boy. Wouldn't any psychologist or psychiatrist who actually examined the child say this action would further traumatize the boy? But sadly, the INS team of experts never did examine the boy to make an informed evaluation.

How could such tactics possibly be in the best interests of a child who has suffered so much? What right did this administration have to add this trauma to the terrible loss Elian has already suffered? And why did he have to suffer at the hands of the people who are supposed to defend the rule of law, the INS, the DoJ, and the President of the United States.

Let's think for a moment about the decision the father and the Justice Department made in putting Elian's life at risk with the plans for the pre-dawn raid. I have never questioned the father's love for the boy, but I cannot imagine any father would choose to put his son's life at risk a second time. But it is not an unloving father who put his son in harm's way—the father is as much a victim as Elian in many ways. The father had a simple choice: travel to a safe house in Miami and have Elian voluntarily transferred into his custody or insist on remaining in Washington and have the U.S. government seize his son in a violent, dangerous raid. Just as it wasn't the father's decision not to come to his boy's side for the first four months of this ordeal, it was not his decision to remain in Washington, forcing a raid at gunpoint. Castro would not allow the father to travel then and he would not allow him to travel last weekend.

President Clinton promised my colleague Senator GRAHAM that Elian would not be seized in the middle of the night, and now we must ask again, why did he promise one thing and yet do another?

Elian deserves access to all of his legal options, Elian deserves an asylum hearing, and he deserves the protection of U.S. law. Yet that is for another day. The use of force must be dealt with today. Does the end justify the means? Will these means ever be justified?

There have been accusations of playing politics with this issue.

But perhaps we ought to recognize what several of the Attorney General's long-time supporters have said. The four mediators from Miami that were involved in the negotiations with Janet Reno have clearly challenged the administration's characterization of the events of last Saturday. They said they were close to an agreement and felt

confident a peaceful solution could have been reached.

We cannot simply sweep these issues away and dispense of them in the name of politics. This is a long, sad story and I'm sure many would wish it would simply fade away. But if we accept and commend the actions of our government for acting hastily in choosing excessive force over peaceful mediation, we have traveled down a very troubling road. We dare not condone such use of force to settle legal disputes. This strikes at the very heart of the balance of power and the integrity of our judicial process.

This child and no child should face the intimidation and trauma of an automatic weapon in his face—especially when perpetrated by the American government—a government that has always stood for freedom and human rights throughout the world. As a father and grandfather, I am heartbroken for the frightened, vulnerable child in that photograph. My hope is that no other administration official utter the words, "I am proud of what we did" and instead express regret and sorrow for the trauma and pain suffered by the entire Gonzalez family.

What happened saddens me as an American, a father, and a Senator. Mr. President, last Saturday morning, a little bit of America died in that raid and I hope we never again dim the light of freedom for those who look to us for hope. I yield the floor.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MACK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MACK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a period for the transaction of routine morning business, with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 10 minutes each.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

HONORING THE ARMENIAN VICTIMS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I rise today to honor the memory of the 1.5 million ethnic Armenians that were systematically murdered at the hands of the Ottoman Empire from 1915–1923. The 85th anniversary of the beginning of this brutal annihilation was marked on April 24.

During this nine year period, a total of 1.75 million ethnic Armenians were either slaughtered or forced to flee

their homes to escape the certain death that awaited them at the hands of a government-sanctioned force determined to extinguish their very existence. As a result, fewer than 80,000 ethnic Armenians remain in what is present-day Turkey.

I have come to the floor to commemorate this horrific chapter in human history each year I have been a member of this body, both to honor those who died and to remind the American people of the chilling capacity for violence that, unfortunately, still exists in the world. It is all too clear from the current ethnically and religiously motivated conflicts in such places as the Balkans, Sierra Leone, and Sudan that we have not learned the lessons of the past.

Recently, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, of which I am a member, had the honor of hearing the testimony of one of the most well-known survivors of the Holocaust, Dr. Elie Wiesel. His eloquent words remind us that the same capacity for hate that drove the Ottoman Empire to murder ethnic Armenians and the Nazis to murder Jews is still present in the world. At the hearing, Dr. Wiesel said, "violence is the language of those who can no longer express themselves with words."

This hate manifests itself in many ways, from extreme nationalism to so-called "ethnic cleansing" to violations of the basic human rights of ethnic and religious minorities. And, in some cases, those filled with hate attempt to mimic the horrific events and beliefs of times past. For example, I am deeply disturbed by the apparent resurgence of right wing and anti-Semitic movements in Europe.

Dr. Wiesel also said, "to hate is to deny the other person's humanity." Today, let us take a moment to remember the Armenians who died at the hands of the Ottoman Empire, and all of the other innocent people who have lost their lives in the course of human history simply for who they were. Our humanity may depend on it.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I rise to join with Armenians throughout the United States, in Armenia, and around the world in commemorating the 85th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide.

On the night of April 24, 1915 in Constantinople, nationalist forces of the Ottoman Empire rounded up more than 200 Armenian religious, political, and intellectual leaders and murdered them in a remote countryside location. This atrocity began an eight year campaign of tyranny that would affect the lives of every Armenian in Asia Minor.

Armenian men, women, and children of all ages fell victim to murder, rape, torture, and starvation. By 1923, an estimated 1.5 million Armenians had been systematically murdered and another 500,000 were exiled. With the world community consumed in the